*[illegible]*

When a man dies the people of the village are sent for; a fowl is taken and thrown on the ground, so that it dies; it is then thrown into the corner of the hut. Another fowl is seized and thrown on the ground, so that it dies; this one is put on the head of the dead man. A goat is brought, and beaten to death with a club, and then left in the yard. An ox is brought, and speared. And the people assemble, and the things necessary for burial are collected (from the people). An adze is brought, and a spear, and a hoe, and beads, and a skin-cloth. Then the people go to cut thorns with which to tie together boards (trees). And beads are tied round the feet of the men who do this work. They go and cut thorns, bring the thorns into the village, and give them to the grave-makers. The grave-makers say: "Bring an adze!" When the adze is brought, they say: "Measure the dead man!" And corn-stalks are tied together for a measure; now the man is measured; then they take the measure, and measure the place (size) of the grave.

The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow (which has been killed). And the hide is brought, and cut into stripes, and a bier is tied together with them, and the bier is put on the ground. The dead man is carried into the yard, his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging to the family) sweeps the place where his feet lie; and a female relative of the dead man is called, she throws away the hearth-stones lying there. A drum is brought, a goat is brought, the goat is killed with a club; the drum is beaten, and the people begin to weep (mourn); as soon as the weeping stops, the people dance mourning-dances. Then the people assembled go around in a procession dancing. Now the burial of the man is finished.

A fence is made around the grave; the people wash themselves in the river, and then go back into the village. Obuyo (a plant) is brought, and a fowl, the people are beaten (touched) with the obuyo. The people go back into the village. The eating-tools of the dead man are burnt, and the people rub the ashes on their forehead; the people now scatter and stay away four days. After that time beer is made, the beer for rubbing sand on the back of the dead

man.[1] An ox is brought, the beer is strained, the beer is brought, and poured on the back of the dead man (on his grave). Mud is carried, and put on the back of the dead man; the mud is prepared (made wet) with water. Again beer is brought, and again is poured on the grave. The ox is speared; the drum is beaten, the people take their arms and make war-plays, and go around in procession. When it is finished, the people scatter.

After one month has passed, the people talk about the mourning-festival. Dura for beer is collected from all the people, the dura is pounded, and the relatives are invited. The beer is strained, and in the afternoon the drum is beaten. An ox is speared, goats are killed. Then the people go to sleep. The next morning the mourning begins; four cows are killed in the yard, and four cows are killed in the middle of the village. Then all, all, all the people come, a great many of Shilluks. When it is afternoon, the people mourn, and four cows are killed by the people in the bush. Cooking-pots are carried out, and a hole is dug for them (and for the other household-things of the dead man) near the place where the head of the dead man lies. And two pots, and a gourd, and a small pot for beer, a mat for covering food, and two dishes, all these things are broken, and thrown into the hole. The horns of a cow are brought ("and the horns of cattle, and they are brought"), they are buried in the ground (on the grave), so that they may be seen by the people. Now the mourning-meeting disbands; one of the families receives a shoulder (of one of the butchered cattle), one receives a fore-leg, and all the other meat is also divided. The people who have dug the grave, receive the bowels, the head, and the feet, and the neck.[2]

## 17. Inheritance.

*[illegible]*

*[illegible]*

When a man dies, and he has children, his property is taken by the eldest

[1] That is: for besmearing the grave with mud and smoothing the surface.

[2] Not everybody is buried so ceremoniously as this report tells, but only old, respected or rich people, chiefs of families or villages. — In almost every village one sees the horns of an ox buried projecting from the ground; this is the burial-place of such a man. *The Burial of a King vide page [illegible].*

when a man dies, and he has children, his property
114 is taken by the eldest *Social Institutions*

*539 428 578 593 626 son; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for himself. In this case they fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now you want to keep it all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay all; so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the younger one gets his part. After that they again hold a big palaver, and they make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The eldest son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid, the elder one will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 587 ● 768 641 The wives of the dead man are treated (done with) thus: the elder brother of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes and takes one.[1] And if they beget children from those wives, they belong to the family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the house of the eldest brother.) The eldest wife of the deceased, the mother of the children, remains with the eldest brother. — So is it exactly.

## 18. Murder.

*539 *[illegible]*

*539 682 A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer) runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man last night." Then the drum is beaten, the people come out from their houses, and

[1] The sons marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



there develops a tendency for *jwe* A (to refer again to the diagram above) to marry women of *jwe* X. Men of *jwe* A will therefore have ready access to the unmarried girls of *jwe* X, as, similarly, will men of *jwe* X have ready access to the unmarried girls of their *jwe ore*, P. Now if a man of *jwe* A seduces a girl of *jwe* P it naturally annoys the men of *jwe* X who regard *jwe* P girls as in some sense their prerogative.

*Duale* is thus a good example of a religious sanction harnessed to the service of social expediency. Without doubt, although no Shilluk volunteered the explanation, the *duale* taboo has developed from the consciousness that seduction must be rigorously discouraged where it would imperil good relations between *ore*.

DIVORCE.

The verb *tang* is used for the breaking of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the wife or to her refusal to live with her husband. Cases where the wife dies are naturally less acrimonious than those of the other kind and will be considered first.

Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol* must either present to the husband an unmarried sister as *kai ot*,[38] or they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals) making deductions for children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death. These deductions are generally at the rate of two head for each son and five for each daughter, the children of course going to their father. Thus a husband who has paid the full bride wealth of ten head and has a son and a daughter alive and born of the marriage can reclaim only three head of cattle.

Cases resulting from the refusal of the wife to cohabit with her husband may be more properly described as cases of divorce. Divorce in this sense results not from any act of the parties but from a state of affairs judicially recognised as warranting the return to the husband of the bride wealth, with or without suitable deductions for children born. Deductions are usually made, but if it is held that the behaviour of the wife has been particularly blame-worthy the husband is sometimes

38. Literally "substitute of the house."

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



766 The final ceremonies take place after an interval of a month or two. Cattle, varying in number according to the [782] eminence and wealth of the dead man's family, are driven in for sacrifice and distribution, after being slaughtered, among the participants. The men of the district march in, [536] village by village, and perform the funeral dance, first encircling the village on the outside, then saluting the tomb of the deceased; they advance, clashing spear on shield, to kneel on one knee before the grave, then retire and finally encircle the village, this time on the inside, before giving place to the next company. The whole performance is accompanied by the thudding of the drums and the chanting of [536] the praises of Nyikang and the dead prince. This dance concludes all public remembrance of the dead man. No record is made or kept of the day or month of his death and so nothing in the nature of an anniversary ceremony takes place. The hut under which he is buried is allowed to fall into ruins and thus forms a tumulus over the grave. The place is then made [771] tidy and a reed or thorn fence erected around it to preserve it from profane use.

The household utensils of the dead man are either burned or buried on the day of the funeral, but the rest of • 768 his property, including his wives—for they are reckoned as 428 his chattels for which he paid so many head of cattle—is inherited by his relatives according to the directions given by the deceased. If he left no instructions for the dividing of his goods everything belongs to his eldest son, but he is expected to give a share to his brothers and his father's principal male relatives, brothers and half-brothers. The dead man's spears, his canoe and the necklace of large white beads, a token of his dignity, belong to the eldest son absolutely.

764 The funeral of a common Colo and the consequent cere- [525] monies differ in some respects from those of a Nyireth. The body is washed and shaved and adorned with beads, but since no commoner is allowed to wear a leopard skin, the skin of a serval cat is fastened round the loins. If the dead